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COMMEMORATION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 1 September 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i.
of the Permanent Mission of Romania to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith an excerpt from a statement by H.E. Mr. Ion Iliescu, President of Romania, containing a formal appeal for historical reconciliation between Hungary and Romania (see annex). The appeal was launched at Bucharest on 30 August 1995 before the national symposium on "Romania in the summer of 1940 under the impact of the policy of force. Fifty-five years from the Vienna Dictate".

This initiative was inspired by the Franco-German reconciliation, successfully carried out in the context of a deepened European cooperation and integration, which proved its viability and effectiveness. The proposal points at the integration of negotiations on the basic bilateral Romanian-Hungarian treaty in a comprehensive set of steps aiming at a historical reconciliation and good neighbourliness. At the same time, such an approach would promote those measures and values that could lead to the elimination of the psychological handicaps inherited from the past, which may foster extremist attitudes, suspicions and difficulties in adapting to the European standards and values. Thus, the two countries will bring their own specific contribution to stability and enhanced cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe, an improved political climate on the continent and a safer world.

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I would be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly at its fiftieth session, under items 36 and 81 of the provisional agenda.

(Signed) Gheorghe CHIRILA
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

Excerpts from an address by the President of Romania before the national symposium on "Romania in the Summer of 1940 under the impact of the policy of force. Fifty-five years from the Vienna Dictate", held at Bucharest, on 30 August 1995

True to its European option, openly stated by all its political forces, Romania wishes to draw its inspiration from the clear, transparent, stable and unequivocal European model in its relations with all the neighbours. A brilliant example of the success of the European spirit is the historic Franco-German reconciliation, after centuries of confrontation and tension that seemed insuperable. Now, when we commemorate the historic injustice of 55 years ago, let our thoughts not be overwhelmed by the memory of the nefarious characters, Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, who together assumed grave responsibilities for some of the most horrifying acts of territorial rape in the modern history of Europe, but rather remember the great politicians, Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer, the makers of the historic Franco-German reconciliation!

We, too, wish to leave past tragedies to the past and to look towards the future. We, too, wish to base our relations with Hungary on the essentially European Franco-German model, and we are ready to make whatever diplomatic overtures it takes in this direction. We do this because the interests and the future of both nations cannot be conceived outside the Euro-Atlantic space, outside the common acceptance of a code of values, norms and standards that should be clear, unambiguous and non-discriminatory.

The present national and international context offers Romania and Hungary a unique chance for historic reconciliation, with beneficial consequences for the development and flourishing of their relations. At the same time, this would facilitate their simultaneous integration in the European and Euro-Atlantic cooperation and security structures.

In this spirit, I call upon all the responsible policy-makers of Hungary - the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Parliament, the leaders of all political forces of Hungary - to look together with us towards the future. I believe I express the common view of all political forces of Romania by launching the appeal to found the relations between Romania and Hungary on the principles of law and cooperation established between European democratic States in the last five decades.

I particularly call for relinquishing the claim, expressed in one form or another, by many Hungarian politicians, to "direct" the Hungarian minorities of the neighbouring countries, or to pose as their "defenders" or "representatives". We commemorate today the dramatic situation to which precisely such a policy led, endorsed by Horthy's Hungary in the inter-war period and which left deep wounds in the memory of the Transylvanian population, as well as of the other parts of the country. The leaders of today's democratic Hungary should understand and be convinced that protecting its territorial integrity and State unity, Romania is the first and most interested in the protection and guarantee of the legitimate rights of the persons belonging to

the Magyar minority, in the preservation of their ethnic identity, just as it is interested in the protection of the fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens. In this respect, Romania is determined to observe fully the relevant European standards, as well as the international obligations it has entered by its own free will.

I call on all Hungarian politicians to accept the historical and juridical reality, confirmed by the documents of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), according to which the Magyar minority of Romania is an integral part of the Romanian society, and all the consequences therefrom. The status of the Magyar minority in Romania derives from the fundamental human rights and freedoms expressed in the Constitution of Romania and in a broad legislative framework, as well as from the European standards in the field, and therefore cannot be a subject of negotiation with any other State, Hungary included.

If all of us, both in Romania and in Hungary, understand and accept these basic principles of the relationships among States, I do not see any obstacle in the many-sided development and deepening of relations between our two countries, already substantial at present, including the natural contacts of our Magyar fellow-citizens with those who speak the same language and share the same cultural values in Hungary and elsewhere.

Setting out from these reasons, and taking into account the huge responsibility the leadership of Romania and Hungary have for the future of their peoples and the relations among them, I solemnly invite the Budapest democratic leadership to proceed together, as soon as possible, to the drafting and signing of a political document likely to consecrate the historical reconciliation between Romania and Hungary, in the European spirit of the day. This document could be grounded on the following ideas and general principles:

(a) Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, ending tensions existing for centuries, is a truly historical event that will deeply galvanize the relations between the two countries, serving the interests of the two peoples engaged on the path of democracy and reform, while providing a new solid basis for the development of bilateral relations in all fields of common interest;

(b) Romania and Hungary will mutually support each other as they strive for integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures where they naturally belong; the historic reconciliation between them is a significant contribution to the security and stability of this geographic area and of Europe as a whole;

(c) The relationships between Romania and Hungary will be fostered by the principles and norms of international law laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final act, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe and the other OSCE documents, the two countries observing each other's territorial integrity and declaring that they do not have, now or in the future, territorial claims towards each other;

(d) The historical Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation will benefit all the citizens of the two countries, including the persons belonging to the Magyar

minority in Romania and to the Romanian minority in Hungary, by the two countries' alignment to the European democratic values and standards as regards the respect of human rights. The acknowledgement by the political factors in the two countries of the accomplishment of this historic reconciliation will turn the Magyar minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Hungary into a major resource of development for bilateral relations, a platform for the establishment of good neighbourliness and partnership relations between the two countries.

The declaration on the historical reconciliation between Romania and Hungary may be accompanied by a juridical bilateral document laying down the mechanisms and instruments, as well as a code of conduct on issues of ethnic minorities, which the two countries would agree to establish in order to attain these goals, as well as by concrete programmes of action at political, economic, strategic, cultural levels, and in other fields of common interest.

Nurturing the hope that this initiative will be accepted by the Hungarian side, Romania declares its readiness to start immediate negotiations with a view to reaching an agreement and signing the relevant political and juridical documents.

Along this line, we intend to suggest that the resumption of negotiations on a Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty should stand under the sign of the historic Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, so that we may lay together the foundations of a partnership and cooperation relationship between the two States.

We do not regard the reconciliation as a mere declaration but as a process consciously assumed and systematically pursued day by day.

This process should have as a basis the political will for rapprochement and cooperation to the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of stability and security both in the geo-historical region of Central Europe and on the whole continent. I declare here and now that we, in Romania, have this political will.

There is no doubt that this process will be hard, if not impossible, to be carried out without the support of the political forces in Romania and Hungary that think and act with their eyes riveted towards the future and not towards the past, redoubled by the building of true communicating vessels between the civil societies in Romania and Hungary.

As long as Magyar minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Hungary act as a catalyst of that constructive effort, they will truly fulfil their vocation of laying bridges between our two neighbouring peoples.

Our historic reconciliation is the most secure way towards Romania and Hungary's integration into the new Europe's vital institutions. By choosing this path, we shall also directly contribute to overcoming some of the dilemmas confronting institutions such as the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization when it comes to figuring out their extension to our region. This is why we are convinced that, just like in the case of the Franco-German reconciliation, this necessary attempt to rewrite our common destiny will enjoy

the support of the European states and Euro-Atlantic political, economic and strategic structures. We particularly hope that France and Germany, which established the pattern we intend to follow in our relations with Hungary, will substantially support us in order to validate, in a new period of European construction and within a different geo-political context, the perennial and universal values of an option which, putting an end to the sleep of reason, prevented the rebirth of old monsters.

At this moment of history, after more than two decades since the observance of human rights has become a priority and a principle of international life, leading to changes of regimes in many countries, Romania finds herself, in a natural way, aligned to European and world standards, observing both its Constitution as well as the commitments assumed through agreements, conventions and protocols signed with respect to human rights and freedoms, including those of the citizens belonging to ethnic minorities.

We are determined to observe further these commitments, since it is only on such strong foundations that we conceive the consolidation of a democratic life, in a State governed by law.